PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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PROTESTS AGAINST KOREAN POLICY

MPs demand British mediation

THERE are signs of growing uneasiness among Labour Party members and supporters over the Government's Korean policy. Speeches, resolutions and Press correspondence, criticising America's actions and proposing British initiative in mediation, give promise of concerted efforts for peace.

A motion calling upon the Government "to withdraw all British naval forces from the affected area" was tabled last Wednesday by Mr. S. O. Davies, Labour MP for Merthyr.

The Government, it said, should also "repudiate all commitments which involve on our part any obligations to maintain the present division of the nations into two powerful and dangerously poised and hostile groups."

"I am surfeited by cheap excuses blaming Communists as the cause of all this trouble in Korea," said Mr. Davies at a meeting last Sunday.

"How can millions of people, many of them illiterate be converted overnight to Communism with its complicated ideology? I will certainly object to the risking of the lives of any young British soldiers in fighting to prevent these people from getting the independence to which they are obviously entitled."

UNITED NATIONS—OR UNITED STATES?

An important plea for balanced judgment on the crisis was contained in a letter from Mr. K. Zilliacus to the Manchester Guardian last week.

While believing that it was both a crime and a blunder for the Soviet Government to let its North Korean protegees invade the South, he said it should be remembered that there has been plenty of provocation along the frontier for a long time.

Syngman Rhee, South Korean Premier, had twice publicly demanded more arms in order to be able to attack the North.

Also, the Russians had on previous occasions restrained the North Koreans, and may well have felt that after the recent American decision to keep Japan indefinitely under U.S. military occupation, in order to turn it and Southern Korea into a military base and a standing threat against Russia and China, it was time they showed their teeth.

"One should not tolerate for a moment the pretence that our Government, in putting itself at the orders of the United States, is acting out of loyalty to the United Nations."

Article 27 of the Charter, he continued, provided that decisions of the Security Council to take action required the votes of all its members.

Insist on China's admission

The United States had excluded China (the China that our Government recognised), which was one of the two permanent members that are Korea's neighbours. In protest, Russia, the other neighbour, had vetoed the Security Council. That made the recent decisions on Korea illegal.

The letter concluded with a demand that our government insist on the immediate admission of China to the Security Council, which would automatically bring about the return of Russia.

AMERICA'S CHINESE POLICY PROVOCATIVE

"There are features of this crisis which make one uneasy," said Fenner Brockway, MP, at the All Nations Social Club last week.

The Security Council included a representative of a government driven from the Chinese mainland which clearly had no support from the Chinese people.

Further, it was difficult to justify the action of the United States in taking measures to protect the exiled Government of China on Formosa. This extended the issue to the whole of China.

The British Government, which had recognised the Communist Chinese Peoples' Republic and declared that its aim was to confine the conflict to Korea, should take the initiative and call a conference, including representatives of Russia and the Chinese Republic, to consider steps to end the dispute.

"BRITAIN SHOULD END CONFLICT"

The following motion was introduced by Fenner Brockway in Wednesday's debate:

"This House declares that the object of British policy in Korea should be to bring the conflict to an end at the earliest possible moment, on the basis of the unification of Korea under a democratically elected Government, and urges that an approach be made to the Indian Government to offer its services for the realisation of this object.

A full report of the Korea debate will be published in next week's Peace News.

Formosa more dangerous than Korea

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S action in ordering the American Fleet to protect Formosa, and his statement that he would regard the island's loss by the Chinese Nationalists as a threat to the security of the Pacific and to the U.S. Forces, had created a situation far more dangerous than that existing in Korea, Stuart Morris (PPU General Secretary) told a Notts audience last Saturday.

He was speaking at a garden party at Woodborough Vicarage, jointly organised by Nottingham PPU, FoR, and Women's International League groups, which raised nearly £16 for their funds.

Mr. Morris said it was quite possible that the situation in Korea would pass off, but the United States' action in regard to Formosa had been taken right outside the Security Council, and might result in bringing in Russia, which had recently signed a mutual aid pact with the Chinese Government.

"So this action which has been called action to preserve peace is far more likely to precipitate war," he said, adding that the United States' decision to start bombing in North Korea was beyond the limit of what might legitimately be called "police action" and was an act of war.

UNO bridge becomes battleground

"We all hoped that the United Nations was going to be able to bridge the gulf between East and West, but we have seen now, instead of building a bridge, it has become a battleground—at least for verbal action. And now, perhaps the United Nations, by its own action, is tending more to destroy peace than assure it. That has come about because the United Nations is no world government."

Mr. Morris said he thought there was no doubt whatever that Russia was perfectly right in saying that the decision of the Security Council was illegal, and he could not see any chance of Russia resuming active participation in the United Nations as it was at present constituted.

"Now is our opportunity to insist that the United Nations shall be changed into a real world government—now, at the moment of its failure, to say that it is not too late. We can still save things by learning from our mistakes and past experience, by insistence that the United Nations Charter shall be so amended and reformed as to turn UNO into the real world government which will be able to provide the essentials of peace. I think that is one thing we can claim out of this deperate situation. We should not be led astray by believing that there is any solution of the present problem in the action taken at the moment."

Why U.S. is in Korea

Mr. Morris warned that it would be suggested that the present situation proved that the Russians "only listened to force."

What we were witnessing now was a new stage in the whole division between East and West, and America was in it not because she had any particular love for South Korea nor even because she was particularly concerned about one act of aggression, but because she saw the Korean developments as a direct threat to her own interests.

Britain, said Mr. Morris, should pull out and offer her services as mediator.

DAILY HERALD "IRON CURTAINS" NUR SPEECH

THE Daily Herald, much praised official voice of Labour, completely ignored a peace appeal by the President of the 500,000 strong National Union of Railwaymen to which the Star gave prominence last Monday.

The Star reported the President's address, containing his statement that, "We are hearing everywhere the language of war. Does it not look as if the UNO is going the same futile road travelled by the League of Nations?

"The world has never been more in conflict than it is today.

Visit to Russia

The President then spoke of the reciprocal visit of four representatives of the Railwaymen's Union of Soviet Russia which visited a few weeks ago. They all emphasised the strong desire of their own railway comrades for peace with all nations.

"It was true," said Mr. Potter, the President, "we did not endorse their views as to their method of government, but it was equally true that we share their desire for peace.

"There surely was a solid foundation upon which could be built a great edifice of peace and brotherhood between the workers of both countries.

"We could develop that ideal jointly with our Russian comrades, endeavouring to bring the governments of both countries closer together.

Guildswomen demand peace

THE Women's Co-operative Guild has sent the following wire to Ernest Bevin and Sir Terrence Shone, British UN representative:

Seventy thousand English and Welsh co-operative guildswomen confidently appeal to HM Ministers to use all the resources of Britain to achieve peaceful settlement of the Korean dispute.

The majority of women in Britain are no longer prepared to accept war as a method of settling differences arising between nations.

'Back China' say US missionaries

INTERNATIONAL Missionary Council President (in USA) is urging the US to recognise the Communist Government in China. He states that missionary activity has not been disrupted and that this new government is an expression of the will of the Chinese people to have more say in their own government. Their support of the new regime, he says, has grown out of their disillusionment with the Nationalist Government.

Would A-bombs be used in war?

—"YES" SAYS SCIENTIST

Lewes residents who attended the thirteenth annual gathering of the Lewes PPU at the Friends Meeting House, on Saturday heard Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, speak on the horrors of atomic warfare.

MANY people, said Prof. Lonsdale, were of the opinion that the atomic bomb was similar, as a weapon, to the gas of the 1914-1918 war in as much that, having once produced it, neither side would be prepared to use it for fear of the consequences.

Prof. Lonsdale contended that scientific opinion was that, in the event of another world war, atomic bombs would be used. She said that, as a weapon, the atomic bomb was most effective, whereas gas was a weapon that, with a change in the wind, could become equally dangerous to both sides.

"Gas," said the speaker, "is not a good military weapon—it is not a war-winning weapon. This is not the case with atomic bombs. It is true that they would not win a war immediately and it is true that they would require following up with occupation troops. The fact remains, however, that they are a good, modern, military weapon."

Prof. Lonsdale revealed that the atomic bombs that were used in the last war were "exploded mercifully" — they were exploded some distance above the ground. In that way many of the dangerous elements did not reach the target.

In addition to the effect of the bomb on people living in the present generation, scientists were of the opinion that the succeeding generations might suffer as well.

H-Bomb and freedom

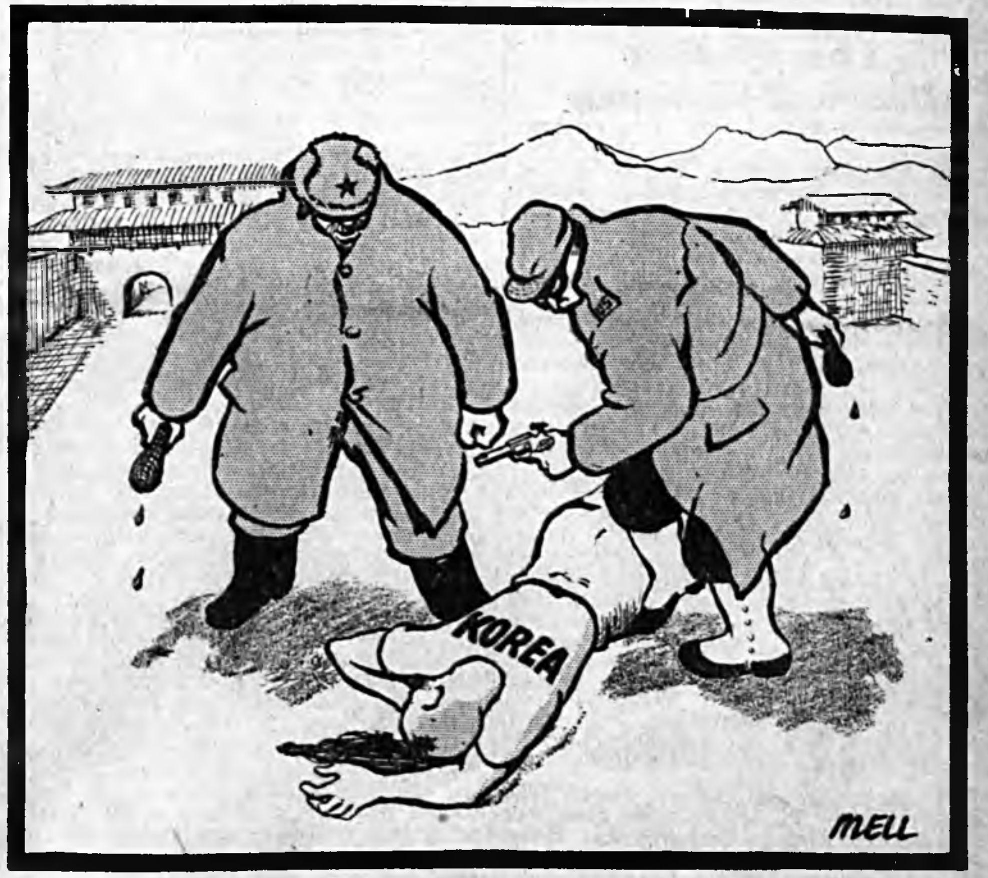
The speaker thought that, with the use of atomic energy, warfare tended to become impersonal.

"Many people believe," said Prof. Lonsdale, "that only by being strong can man be free. Now look at the hydrogen bomb. As far as we know, it has not yet been made. But one hydrogen bomb squarely placed would wipe out the whole of the population of London. If these bombs are made they may destroy all life, and there you have the black side of the situation."

She concluded her talk by pointing out that good as well as bad had resulted from the discovery of atomic energy. Radioactive iodine, phosphorus and salt were now in use in medicine. Opinion was divided as to when atomic power would be available for industry.

"It is rather like producing a gallon of petrol that will drive your car a million miles and yet having to use a million gallons of petrol to produce the one necessary gallon," Prof. Lonsdale added.

At a second session of the gathering, Prof. Lonsdale spoke on the moral issues involved, a report of which will appear in Peace News next week.



"Hey! Stand up and be liberated!"

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KOREA

By VERA BRITTAIN

Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union

THE war situation which has blown up in the Far East with such sinister suddenness is a clear example of the ineptness with which the Great Powers, and especially the Western Allies of the recent War, have landed themselves with the worst of both worlds.

If they had spent half the time working for a truce between East and West that has been given to hysterical preparations for a war which each side fears as much as the other, there would now be no "hot" war in Korea and no "cold" war anywhere else.

If, on the other hand, the Western Allies after the death of President Roosevelt really intended to carry on the war against totalitarian Germany into a war against totalitarian Russia, their policy of the past five years has been idiotic in the extreme.

For decades Germany and Japan acted as bulwarks against Pan-Slavism. Their reduction to impotence has removed those bulwarks. By carrying the Second World War to its final stage of "unconditional surrender," the Western Allies left vacuums in both Europe and the Far East which Communism was only waiting to fill and has succeeded in filling—if not exactly without firing a shot, certainly with the minimum of military effort. Those who think that this is a purely pacifist view should read the latest book, *Defence of the West* by Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, our leading military expert.

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What of the immediate situation in Korea? At the time of writing, general opinion, as expressed in his usual forthright fashion by Frank Owen in the *Daily Express*, seems to be that the war will not spread; Stalin is an expert in getting other people to fight his battles and is not ready for the clash of two hemispheres. Not yet.

To many well-meaning people, this war will appear to be of a novel kind. It is not nationalistic, but a form of "police action"; it is the first move by that International Police Force to prevent aggression which has been demanded by Federal Unionists and others who cannot go all the way with pacifists, but want to see the abolition of war as an instrument of national policy.

In order to avoid yet more of the confusion to which the pacifist movement has fallen victim during recent years, I want to say right away that our attitude to this war must be the same as our attitude to any other. We may grant that this particular war method is more ethical (if the word can be used in such a connection at all) than the purely self-interested war methods of power-grabbing states, but for us the only rock of salvation in an ocean of shifting values and standards is the renunciation of the war method *altogether*, totally and uncompromisingly.

Whether it is called "liberation," "defence," "united action against aggression," or whatever other euphemism the war-apologist chooses, war remains evil, unjustifiable, and self-defeating because it is the outstanding expression of those impulses in man which John Bunyan and his contemporaries described simply and fearlessly as "sin." The Christian Church has so widely failed its followers because, allowing itself to be dominated by nationalistic policies, it has avoided identifyng as sin the actions which spring from man's readiness to do evil and to worship darkness rather than light.

War cannot create peace; murder cannot achieve justice; evil means cannot produce noble ends. That is why war inevitably has the opposite effect to that which those who make it intend—or say they intend. This fact will prove as certain in the case of Korea as in every other instance, without exception, of military action. The fact that evil means are followed by evil ends is not merely an abstract principle; in our own time it has been proved true, again and again, in terms of concrete results.

None of us is yet in a position to make positive assertions about the material and political causes of the Korean situation, and for a significant reason; the method of war, and the spirit it creates, always obscures the truth. One of the first weapons in a modern war, however ostensibly "just," is the use of biassed and selective propaganda. The so-called "police" forces of the United Nations are miles away from that action based on impartial evidence which is the essence of civil justice.

It is, however, at least clear that the Korean crisis has far older and deeper origins than recent Communist activities in the area. The division of such a relatively small territory as Korea into virtually two countries was a certain cause of trouble, owing to the mutual distrust between Russia and the West which was evident not only during but long before the Second World War.

The whole mechanism of biassed propaganda is already at work, proclaiming all the "guilt" to be on one side. Last week, when the National Council of Labour issued its manifesto against the Communist Peace Congress' Petition campaign, it characteristically did not point, like the pacifist manifestoes, to fundamental differences of principle, but stated that Russia was "*solely*" responsible for the failure of the nations to agree about atomic control. Yet the Baruch Plan still stands as the only basis for discussion on such control, and even American Government spokesmen have admitted that this Plan does nothing to alleviate certain well-justified Soviet fears.

So long as nations have weapons in their possession which they are prepared to use and to which their financial resources are dedicated, so long will justice and impartial judgment be impossible, and all attempts to allay fear and suspicion will inevitably fail. Disarmament is the only road to security.

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Would we then say that the South Koreans should not be defended and freed? Yes, that is what we are bound to say, so long as the method used for their "liberation" is war. Non-violent resistance, as Gandhi would assert, if he were alive today, is the only practical politics, in this as in all similar situations.

The United Nations—led, we might hope, by India's representative—should take the lead, not in providing more and more military weapons, but in calling for a truce between the combatanats in order to examine without passion the underlying causes of the conflict. The method which at long last is proving successful in India and Pakistan could be equally effective in Korea. Such a truce might be used as the starting point for a deeper and wider effort to bring lasting peace between East and West.

The Quaker Peace Testimony

Our conviction is that Christianity has this to say to the world: "Your reliance upon armaments is both wrong and futile. Armaments are the weapons of organised violence and outrage. Their use is a denial of the true laws of good living They involve the perpetuation of strife. They stand in the way of the true fellowship of men. They impoverish the peoples. They tempt men to evil, and they breed suspicion and fear and the tragic consequences thereof. They are therefore not legitimate weapons in the Christian armoury nor are they sources of security. You cannot foster harmony by the apparatus of discord, nor cherish goodwill by the equipment of hate. But it is by harmony and goodwill that human security can be obtained. Armaments aim at a security in isolation; but such would at best be utterly precarious, and is as a matter of fact, illusory. The only true safety is the safety of all, and unless your weapon of defence achieves this work, or works towards this, it is a source of antagonism, and therefore of increased peril.

—Report of Commission II, Conference of All Friends, 1920.

The above is an extract from "The Quaker Peace Testimony," an anthology compiled by Jos. S. Rowntree and Helen Byles Ford and published by the Friends Peace Committee, 6d.

Commentary

By DOUGLAS ROGERS

THE DAILY WORKER'S explanation of the beginning of the Korean war is that fighting broke out when troops of the American-controlled puppet government of the South invaded the North at three points.

Admittedly, that story will find little credence East of Berlin. It certainly looks as if the Northern Korean Communists took a deliberate gamble on the idea of solving the Korean problem by a military coup d'etat.

It would seem, also, that they didn't expect much opposition, and believed that if they could once occupy the South and demonstrate that, as in China, the mass of the people were behind the Communists in their programme of reform, the Western powers would be at a distinct disadvantage in trying to make a come-back.

The whole international situation is extremely hazardous, but it looks as if the Russian leaders, having watched the little experiment made, do not wish to be rushed into precipitate action.

However, though no doubt Soviet influence must take the major blame for the actual outbreak of war, the matter neither begins nor ends there.

"America's business, not ours"

IT is interesting at this stage to look back at the leading article in Beaverbrook's Evening Standard of June 26 at the beginning of the fighting. Headed "We Are Not Involved," it says—

> "But the British people should keep cool heads. They are not directly in volved in the Korean war. The Government of North Korea is a satellite of Russia; that of South Korea a satellite of the United States.
>
> "Without American aid, amounting to £33 millions a year, the South Korean Government, a regime whose inefficiency and repression smacks of the Chiang-Kai-shek regime, would have collapsed long ago. And without the help of the large American military mission the South Korean Government would not be able to offer any resistance to the carefully planned and well executed attack from the North . . .
>
> "The invasion of South Korea offers a direct challenge to America. No doubt that great nation can take care of it."

Always that moral purpose!

IT is also interesting to note the speech of President Truman in the same week in which he referred to the backward areas of the world where, he said, the legitimate desires of the people for an improvement in their condition of living were exploited by the Communists.

Now this tempts one to cynicism because it is only when the democratic nations are embarking upon war that they decide that these problems are ones to be solved by the democratic nations.

For centuries Britain, France and Holland have had control over "backward areas"—including vast areas in the Far East—and they have each shown a remarkable reluctance either to leave such areas or to do anything substantial about improving the "living conditions" of their inhabitants.

How cynical one must become about democracy if one is a "backward person!"

Love comes rather late

THE western nations are most skilled in adapting political expedient to moral precept. For example, having fought a ruthless war against the Indonesians to the point where they could no longer continue it, the Dutch then fought inch by inch diplomatically to give the least possible away, and finally when "agreement" was at last bargained, exuded a powerful spirit of magnanimity and the most moving offers of co-operation. They turned defeat into moral victory.

Now all the Americans (including Mrs. Roosevelt) are speaking of their determination to "back the United Nations" in Korea, forgetful, apparently, that America took its decision before the United Nations did. It is so much better to be fighting for a disinterested cause than for one's own economic and political interests.

The truth, of course, is that UN is now dead as far as its original purpose was conceived. It is now no more than a nice name for the nations supporting the United States. But it sound so much better than merely saying "America and its allies" or, worse, "America and its satellites."

What do "backward peoples" want

ONE should try to look at this problem from the point of view of the "backward peoples." Here in England most people are probably convinced, whatever, they fear about war, that all the moral right is on the Western side.

I doubt if this view is held amongst "backward peoples." After all, they will not be over horrified by violence. They will have no reason to suppose that "bad" violence is the monopoly of Russia and Communists and "good" violence (i.e. violence in defence of moral principles) is the monopoly of America and European countries. They all know what it is to be occupied and subjected by force by western imperialistic powers.

Neither will they be horrified by the thought that the Communist Party does not believe in democracy. They get no democracy from the "democracies"—so what is there to lose?

East will look to Communism

THEIR intellectual leaders will say that Soviet Russia has a better record in the treatment of the former "Czarist" colonies than any western power can boast.

They will say that in China the Communists have broken an age-long repressive regime, giving the land to the peasants who by their toil have earned it, and sowing the first seeds of democracy. They will believe that the Communists want to do the same in Korea. Even if they regret the war they will hope, if anyone *must* win, that it should be the Communists.

It is a grave error to view this problem of Communism in the Far East from western standards and with an obsession about the U.S. and Russia world conflict. In the west the Communist Party, against the western background, represents a threat to political freedom. In the east against a background of utter political oppression and economic destitution, it represents the hope of both political and economic freedom. In the absence of any other hope millions of the world's inhabitants must look to the Communist Party for leadership.

West must mend its own ways first

AMERICA and its allies may win this war in Korea. But they will not thus stop Communism.

If the west wants to do something lasting about this problem it must begin with a comprehensive admission of its own criminal imperialist record. It must put an end to its imperialism and racialism. Britain must stop "bossing it" in Africa. France must get out of Indo-China. America must get rid of "Jim Crow." The "United Nations" must talk about and to Dr. Malan in the same stringent terms in which they have castigated Joseph Stalin. There is plenty for them to do at home before worrying about Korea—if they are really concerned with moral priciples. If they aren't let them be frank about it.

Still hope of intervention

MEANWHILE, all we can hope is that some intervention can be made to end the fighting as early as possible. It is a pity that India tendered its support to the west because Nehru is a giant among statesmen, standing with great influence between east and west. He would have done better to have exerted his influence toward a reconciliation, and even now it is not too late for him to try.

But now that matters have reached their head there must be no notion that the solution is for each side to camp down again each side of that fantastic "frontier" of the 38th parallel. Any localised solution in Korea must be on the basis of a united Korea run by the Koreans. And with no other conditions.

NOTE OUR ADDRESS

RECENTLY this paper contained one of those errors for which, by age-long tradition, it is customary to blame the printer.

The "printer's error" in question was that the paragraph which usually goes at the end of the Appeal for PPU Headquarters Fund was inadvertently inserted below the Appeal for the Peace News Fund, giving the impression that contributions to this paper should be sent to Dick Sheppard House.

Now we love PPU HQ Staff as brothers and sisters. The relations between us are excellent and an example to all nations.

Yet we doubt if our love for them is quite so disinterested as willingly to allow money intended for us to be sent to them. Our love, if fathomless, is still realistic.

For we are financially self-supporting. Within the Welfare State Peace News Ltd. remains a private enterprise, albeit non-profit-making.

We get no subsidy, neither from the PPU nor the Government. Marshall Aid passes us by and Moscow Gold ignores us.

Our material resources derive solely from sales and your generous contributions.

Further, we have our own address. The PPU lives in Bloomsbury, the centre and symbol of Britain's cultural life. We, less accessible and possibly less cultured, maintain the common touch and hang out in the suburbs.

It is not such a good address. Our home is ever so humble and in more senses than one there's no place like it.

Nevertheless, it's the only place to which you should address your contributions to Peace News. And this is it:—

Peace News Ltd.,
3 Blackstock Road,
London, N.4.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since June 23 £17 13s. 6d
Total since Jan. 1, 1950: £254 11s. 1d.

NEWS IN BRIEF

EAST SUSSEX: Latest developments in the "fight against crime" are the formation of a ghost squad of amateur detectives and some police liaison with Women's Junior Air Corps. The Chief Constable's advice to the squad was: "Report any incidents or persons you think are suspicious. Never think that a suspicious incident is too trivial to report. You may be reporting on a fellow member of the "movement" but do not let that thought deter you—the police will straighten that out."

SOUTHWARK: Shortly after the Borough Council had complained that its housing programme was impeded by lack of open sites, the Territorial Army has had a large garage built. In the same road as the garage, overcrowding and bad conditions make most of the houses uncomfortable if not unfit for living. In nearby Wandsworth 9,000 people are wanting houses but only 731 are to be built in 1951.

BALHAM and TOOTING PPU Group are making a monthly collection in support of the enlarged Peace News. Their first contribution was 10s.

SOUTH WALES: An Independent Labour Party Summer School this August will have several noted pacifists among the lecturers. Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union will lecture on Pacifism and Socialism; Lady Marion Parmoor on Security in the Atomic Age, and R. S. W. Pollard on Our Marriage System.

RICHMOND: A request to set up "Peace Stalls" at five sites in Richmond to obtain signatures to a petition to ban the atom bomb has been refused.

HUDDERSFIELD: Following a highly successful series of joint meetings between a Spiritualist Church study group and the local branch of the Peace Pledge Union, members of the Church desire to see the formation of a Spiritualist Peace Fellowship, which eventually might become international in it's scope. Suggestions or letters of enquiry may be addressed to Mrs. Clare Suttie, 11 Scholes Road, Birkby, Huddersfield.

New Peace Poster

"War and Christianity are contradictory ways of life: one is absolutely what the other is not." This is the text on the latest Northern Friends Peace Board poster, obtainable 4d. post free from Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street, York.

WHY CHESHIRE LIFTED THE BAN

Villagers keep their CO teacher

From a Correspondent

Last week PN reported that the ten years old ban against CO teachers in Cheshire had been finally lifted. This action was sponsored, not by the COs concerned, nor by active pacifists alone: the ban was removed after concentrated action by the local people, by the parents whose children will be taught by the pacifists. Even Ex-Service parents took part in the fight against the Cheshire County Council's ban.

Full details are now available of this battle between the people and their bigotted "representatives" in Cheshire: the local Press gave it prominence and we must thank the Chester Chronicle for their very lucid and complete summaries drawn upon by our correspondent.

A. R. PHILLIPS, Quaker CO, received notice to quit his post as teacher in the Brindley and Faddiley School at the end of August. This notice followed the local council's decision to reaffirm their 1940 ban on employing pacifists or COs in any capacity.

Immediately this decision became public, strong action was taken by local pacifists and by the parents themselves.

From every home

At least one parent in every home signed a letter of protest and an appeal for the removal of the ban and the teacher's notice. Mr. Schofield Allen, MP, and World War I veteran, intervened to pledge his full support for the CO teacher and wrote the Minister of Education.

One of the school managers was the sponsor of the petition which was delivered to the area education officer. Shortly after, the matter was again reconsidered and Mr. Phillips was reinstated.

Action all round

This affair in Cheshire is important in that it gives abundant proof that the general public can be enlisted in the pacifist's fight if it is clearly shown that the fight affects themselves. In Brindley and Faddiley the parents, from every single home, came out on behalf of the man who had taught their children and whom they wished to continue teaching.

The point of contact was "their children." To ask the normal parent to appeal against the banning of COs would be a useless endeavour. But to ask the parent of a child taught by a CO if he wishes that teacher to be sacked over a personal ideal: that is altogether different. Then it is no longer a theory, no more a thing outside and apart; the business becomes important to the parent because his child is involved, it is the teacher of his child who is to be removed unless he, personally, takes action.

If this position arises, if personal contact can be made, the great majority of people can be brought in on the pacifist side. In Cheshire this was amply illustrated by the fact that every home was represented on the petition; even the ex-Service parents decried what one called "this infamous resolution." The whole theme of the letters published in the local Chester Chronicle was that the matter had nothing to do with the Council and "hasn't the Council anything better to do?"

Teachers: "Disgrace"

Teachers interviewed by the Chronicle called the affair a national disgrace and pointed to probable action by the National Union of Teachers. Turning to a column of teaching vacancies advertised by the Cheshire authority in the Teachers' World, one teacher said, "If the Council do not want teachers who are conscientious objectors, they should say so in their advertisements and not encourage people to apply for posts only to get the sack later on."

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has now taken steps to right the position with regard to local authority employment of COs. The Board's Parliamentary group is at the moment attempting to clarify the matter with the Ministry of Education.

The story

This Cheshire affair began when Mr. Phillips wrote the County Director of Education after a colleague had been sacked as a CO. Asking if he could expect the same treatment, Phillips had a reply from the Director promising a full answer as soon as possible. Later the Director wrote saying that he thought Phillips should continue in his post without prejudice until the matter has been decided.

May 6 came a letter of termination based on the 1940 "No COs" resolution. Phillips was told to quit at the end of term in August. On reconsideration, after the local and outside protests had become clearer and more insitent, Mr. Phillips was reinstated and the notice to quit removed.

He had, therefore, the double satisfaction of retaining his post and having brought public interest to bear on the position of similarly placed colleagues. Pacifists have the satisfaction of a small but significant victory over prejudice and the knowledge that the public's sympathy and active help can, if it is invited properly, be enlisted.

IRON CURTAIN RAISERS

Iron Curtain refugees are to be recruited by the U.S. Army for a new secret spy ring. Chosen from the thousands who have fled into Western Germany, these refugee spies, 2,500 of them, will be between 18 and 35.

The men must swear allegiance to the U.S. and disloyalty will be met with court martial and death. After five years honourable service they will become elegible for U.S. citizenship.

The bill authorising this underground force is now before President Truman for signing.

One critic (in the U.S. Senate) accused the administration of offering citizenship to "the sorriest man in the world if he will be a dirty spy."

Representative Johnson replied "Let's be honest. This is a dirty business, but war is dirty."

—Sunday Chronicle, June 25

THE TIMES ANSWERS MacARTHUR

THE TIMES correspondent in Tokio, Frank Hawley, has been cabled by his paper that he has their full support and that there is no question of his being withdrawn from his Japanese assignment.

This comes as a reply to General MacArthur's recent insinuations and threats to Frank Hawley. MacArthur's headquarters stated that Hawley might be considered a "security risk" and be expelled from Japan.

In answer to questions put forward in the House of Commons on June 19, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs denied that his department supported the MacArthur threat and merely said that he communicated with the Times as he considered it his duty to give them the information.

The Schuman Plan

In the last paragraph of last week's "Facts and Figures" on the Schuman Plan, the words "sterling production" should have read "steel production."

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, July 5, 1940

For once in a way, the Government has issued a war-time order which, it seems to me, will not be particularly irksome to pacifists.

"If the Germans come, by parachute, aeroplane, or ship," says a Ministry of Information leaflet issued recently, "you must remain where you are. The order is "Stay put."

Doubtless military reasons have dictated this advice. But pacifists will not abjure it on that account, for in my opinion it coincides with their own philosophy. Whatever may be the popular belief, pacifism should contain no element of that sort of fear which leads to panic. And panic, we are warned, would lead to a chaotic exodus of refugees whose plight would be even worse than that of people who "stay put"—bad as that might be for pacifist and non-pacifists alike.

There is another aspect of the matter which was well put by H. Lyn Harris in a letter to The Friend recently. "We have tried to make clear again and again that we did not desire the protection of the the armed forces. Should the Nazis land, by moving away from them with our own army between us and them, we are making direct personal use of this personal protection. By remaining calmly in the place, and with the communities in which we have been called to work, we may show practical (as distinct from merely verbal) consistency, as well as helping to maintain discipline and rendering service to our fellow-citizens."

* * *

WE CAN TAKE IT !

This sign to guide men registering at Walham Green Labour Exchange, S.W. was reproduced in the Daily Express last week:

REGISTRATION FOR SERVICE
2nd door
☞
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
Women's Dept.
☜

They said in the House . . .

JUNE 26

Mr. Watkinson (Con., Woking): . . . about the Schuman Plan . . . I should like to tell the House what one of my customers said to me in Luxembourg. Luxembourg has a deep interest in the steel industry, which is its basic industry. He said, "You are very out of touch in your country since the war with what we feel in Europe. We have the dominant feeling that we do not want to be liberated again, this time by the atom bomb."

* * *

Mr. William Teeling (Con., Brighton, Pavilion): Why should it not be possible to bring Japan in as an ally. She has done all that has been asked of her, and now asks why she should not have a peace treaty herself. I think the answer really is that there is a great fear of Russia which prevents a peace treaty from being made now. But if that is the case, there is no country traditionally more afraid of Russia than Japan herself.

Her whole history has been anti-Russian. Today the vast majority of her people are anti-Russian. Why then should we not bring her in and work with her?

We must not forget that Great Britain was the first to recognise Japan as an ally, at the beginning of the century, and as an ally she went through the 1914-19 War. Only afterwards, because of the Washington Treaty and because we refused to renew out treaty with Japan because of pressure from the United States, we started that competition and enmity which brought us to the tragic days of the 'forties.

There was always a strong element of liberalism in Japan. Many Japanese were educated in this country and many of them and their sons are alive today. The militarist element which caused all the trouble was crushed at the end of the last war and are gone, for the time being any way, and the elements now in control are those people who are friendly to this country. It seems to me that we have a link with Japan which could be renewed.

JUNE 27

Mr. Gammans (Con., Hornsey): Is the Secretary of State for War aware of the inconvenience being caused to Boys' Brigades and other similar cadet corps by the inability of the Aldershot Command to lend them camp equipment as they have done in previous years?

Sir Waldron Smithers (Con., Orpington): Having only half an hour in which to discuss the menace of Communism, I would first point out it is the most momentious and awful menace with which mankind has ever been faced . . . the Congressional Record of the Senate of the United States of May 1 will show that:

"In the event of war with Russia—and God forbid it—the Marxist Government of Britain would decide with whom Britain would cast her lot—with the USSR or with the United States. . . ."

JUNE 28

Mr. Fenner Brockway (Lab., Slough): Is the Secretary of State for Colonies aware that Americans who have brought plantations in the island of Antigua are declining to recognise the unions to which their workers belong, or to sign any agreement with them on the ground that these workers are coloured, although British employers, including those engaged in the sugar, cotton and rum industries and in commerce recognise the unions . . . will the Government indicate that so far as labour relations in these islands are concerned it is their desire that there shall be no racial discrimination?

Mr. Cook (Colonial Under-Secretary): That is our policy.

* * *

After a number of questions on Trades Unions in Malaya:

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Lab., S. Ayrshire): To which unions do the labourers getting 4s. 9½d. a day belong; and do not these figures show a great need for increasing trade union membership in Singapore?

Mr. Cook: That is quite another question.

Mr. Emrys Hughes: What arrangements have been made for broadcasting the speech of Mr. Nehru, made at Singapore, advocating a policy of non-violence in Malaya?

Mr. J. Dugdale: Only one speech made by Mr. Nehru in Singapore was broadcast—that given at the dinner arranged in his honour by the legistlative Council. This speech in no way advocates a policy of non-violence.

Mr. Emrys Hughes: Is the Minister aware that the appeal made by Mr. Nehru in favour of non-violence was made to the bandits, and does he not think that his speech should be given the greatest possible publicity both to the bandits and to those fighting the bandits?

Mr. Dugdale: That is quite another question.

* * *

Mr. Emrys Hughes: What is the estimated weekly cost of maintaining the prison camps in Malaya?

Mr. Dugdale: £12, 519.

JUNE 29

Mr. Keeling (Con., Twickenham): Is the Home Secretary aware that his campaign for recruits for Civil Defence was badly timed. . . . Would not the present international crisis be a good opportunity for starting afresh?

* * *

Mr. Peter Freeman (Lab., Newport): In view of the cruelty involved so far as animals and birds are concerned and the frequent accidents to children, will the Home Secretary now consider taking steps to render the use of catapults illegal in this country?

Mr. Ede: I do not think it would be practicable to single out for prohibition this particular method of discharging missiles.

* * *

Mr. Emrys Hughes: In view of the interest in the question of the atom bomb in relation to Korea, would the Leader of the House consider giving time for consideration of the (following) Motion:

"That this House deplores the suggestion of the Hon. Member for Sheffield, Heeley, that the Prime Minister should advise his representatives in the United Nations to ask for the use of the atomic bomb upon the capital of North Korea, and welcomes the statement issued by the leaders of the Opposition that this suggestion did not in any way represent the views of His Majesty's Opposition."

"In view of this declaration and realising that the use of the atom bomb, not only on the capital cities of North Korea but on all capital cities and populous areas, cannot be justified either on grounds of humanity or for reasons of expediency urges his Majesty's Government to instruct its representatives at the United Nations to make new proposals for banning the atom bomb.

Mr. Morrison: I am afraid not sir?

(Should Army chiefs be paid by results—page six.)

The future of Europe

By WILFRED WELLOCK

IF anyone wants a lesson on the blindness of politicians and economists in the "enlightened" industrialised West, let him read* "Gold for Europe," by Dr. Schacht, known as Germany's financial wizard.

Dr. Schacht possesses the rare gift of being able to expound the intricacies of finance in simple language. But "Gold for Europe" is not only a readable book, it abounds in valuable facts, some of which will come as a shock to many French and British readers, especially those who have been nurtured on the theory that all would have been well in Europe had it not been for two Germans, the Kaiser and Hitler. Yet Dr. Schacht does not face, or see, all the facts.

Dr. Schacht rightly distinguishes the wars of the present century, that is, the two world wars, as being the product of the Industrial Revolution and specifically concerned with the problem of markets as the result of a heavy concentration on mass-production industrialism on the part of some half-a-dozen countries in the West, plus Japan, all of which must maintain their industrial status if they are to maintain their too large population and their high standards of living.

This distinguishing feature he also rightly points out, is emphasised by the fact that the Treaty of Versailles was the first Peace Treaty which revealed the intention of the victors to undermine the economy of the vanquished, even to bankrupt him, if need be, in order to knock him out of competition for the world's markets. This policy, as Dr. Schacht clearly shows, was suicidal. Moreover, it produced Hitler and the second world war, just as the Morgenthau Plan to pastoralise Germany after the recent war was eventually seen to lead to a Communist Germany, for which reason it was abandoned in favour of a policy which allows Germany to re-enter the arena of competition for the world's markets and optimum standards of living.

Dr. Schacht's basic plea is that if Germany is to meet her debt obligations and pay her way, she must be given hope and responsibility. With these two rights, he contends, Germany will face her problems with determination and meet all her obligations.

About the nature of these obligations, Dr. Schacht is under no misapprehension. He claims that Germany can only feed about 60 per cent. of her present population from her depleted acres. The remainder must be fed by exports. But to produce the exports will require big importations of raw materials by way of still more exports, also considerable loans in order to finance the rehabilitation of Germany's industries (after dismantling), the interest on which, together with the capital, will have to be paid in still more exports.

"Gold for Europe" presents a financial scheme whereby Germany could re-establish her solvency. If it works, as he believes it would, it could then be applied to other nations which are in difficulties. But would it work ?

The scheme is too intricate to explain in detail here. It is based on the willingness of the USA to set aside 1,000,000,000 dollars' worth of the gold buried in Fort Knox, and on its security to place 1,000,000,000 "Talers" in the Bank of International Settlements which, in conjunction with a special bank in Germany, shall decide on the uses to which the money shall be put, Germany agreeing to amortize the loan at the rate of three and one-third per cent. per year, thus to complete the repayment in 30 years.

I do not propose to discuss the workability of the scheme, but the assumption on which it rests, chief of which are: 1. That the Western economy of 1939 can be rehabilitated; and 2. That in the world economy of the post-war era, the unbalanced economies of the highly industrialised states which lived, and more or less prospered (at the expense of their neighbours) on manufactured exports, can be restored.

Dr. Schacht admits that Western Europe can feed only seventy per cent. of its population—Britain is feeding less than 50 per cent. of hers—and thus that they must feed the rest on exports and also buy most of the raw materials to do this with more exports.

DR. SCHACHT

Like most of the politicians and economists of the West, Dr. Schacht never mentions the economic revolutions of the last 10 or 15 years, the fact that today the aim of every civilised state is a reasonably agro-industrial economy. Thus he, like Truman and his team, and British politicians and economists, are banking on markets which they forecast will follow the Truman Point Four expansion of backward and undeveloped areas policy, and so enable the ships of trade to ride the storms of competition for another 20 or 30 years.

It will not be. The undeveloped countries of the East, India, for example, mean to develop more slowly, and mainly on their own steam: they understand far better than we do the corrupting nature of power, while the backward countries, the vast Colonial territories, are peopled by races which now understand the importance and significance of, and demand, a balanced agro-industrial economy. Let us make no mistake: the old roads to prosperity, the lucrative avenues of human exploitation are rapidly closing. Hence it would seem that Dr. Schacht has built a citadel of straw.

Is it not time we all looked for a new kind of prosperity ?

Of what avail is a prosperity which fails to produce tranquility of mind and contentment ? The beginning of true prosperity, of peace and contentment, is the discovery and acquisition of creative values which include friendship; for these are basic, and alone yield abiding satisfaction. Dr. Schacht is justified among his kind; but it is another economy, another philosophy we need in Britain and America, as well as in Germany.

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* *"Gold for Europe" by Dr. Hjelmar Schacht, Duckworth, 7s. 6d.*

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
F.A.U. INTERNATIONA SERVICE
STEEP, PETERSFIELD, HANTS.
THE next training camp for probationary members will begin on August 8th, 1950. Pacifists wishing to join the Service should apply immediately to the above address.

PEACE DEMANDS New Economics. Have you studied the case for Social Credit ? Information and literature from Social Credit Co-ordinating Centre, Gordon House, Carrington Street, Nottingham.

FORTUNATE VICTIM ?

Victory in My Hands: Harold Russell. John Lehmann, 10s. 6d.

WHAT a marvellous tool the human hand is ! It can be used to write a great poem, to paint a great picture, to perform a delicate operation that will restore health to a shattered body: it can also be used to strike foul blows and to handle weapons of death.

Harold Russell was grimly reminded of the varied uses of the human hand when he awakened in a hospital bed and realised the results of his war-time accident. Both his hands were gone.

Victory in My Hands is the story, quietly and modestly told, of a great struggle against crippling disability. Russell tells how he became a paratrooper, and although there is no hint in the book that his experiences converted him to pacifism, or anything like it, he makes it unmistakably clear that the intention of training such as he received was to brutalise men and to direct their strength and their energies into abnormal channels.

I had always wondered what a parachute jumper felt like as he stepped into space. Russell describes with peculiar vividness his feelings when, for the first time, a kick from behind him assisted his hesitant jump.

The slow and painstaking recovery after the accident: the first fumbling attempts to use the mechanical appliances which replaced his hands: the loyalty of a splendid girl, and her awkward shyness when at the first real meeting she forgetfully fumbled for the place where once a hand had been. All these things, and much more, are graphically described. The psychological adjustment is also described in a most moving manner. People seemed to be divided into two classes; those who openly pitied, combining their pity with curiosity, and those who very ostentatiously did not notice.

After his recovery, Russell was invited by the Army chiefs to make a short film which was intended to be of help to other disabled soldiers. The short film was a great success, and Russell was then invited to play an important part in a film to be produced by a great film company. It is obvious that Russell quickly became a reasonably prosperous and well - known figure, and one is compelled to wonder whether his victory would have been so complete if he had failed to catch the eye of the film magnates, and had attempted to earn his livelihood in some sphere where monetary rewards are not so quickly forthcoming. However, Russell was very far from using the great opportunities which came his way merely for his own aggrandisement.

He has some new and striking things to say against the colour bar, and against all racial hatred, and he did not hesitate to say those things in Southern States where they were most unwelcome. He is more sensible than some "liberals," who think their ends can be achieved in a day.

Victory in My Hands is a stimulating book. After losing so much, Harold Russell realised how much he had left. His book is the humble and sincere testimony of one who triumphed over almost insurmountable obstacles. The human soul, beaten down, overwhelmed, faced with great odds, can still rise up to conquer.

JOHN VINCENT

Publications Received

Russia with our own Eyes: 13 x 9, 8pp. (36, Spencer Street, London, E.C.1., 2d.).

THIS is a report by the 18 members of the British Trade Union delegation who recently visited Russia at the invitation of the Moscow Trades Council. Like almost every other similar party they were greatly impressed by everything that they saw. They write with enthusiasm of Russian labour and social conditions, and where they make comparisons they are usually unfavourable to Britain and America. Over 40 photographs, mostly of the "snapshot" type, which they took quite freely wherever they went, illustrate the 2,500 miles of their tour.

Whether the Soviet Union is everywhere as advanced as those parts inspected by the delegation, whether everybody there is really so politically and productivity conscious as they seem to be, and whether a judicial system under which an instrument maker is elected Supreme Court Judge is better than one that demands a life-time of legal training, are questions on which there will be doubts if not differences of opinion, at least among readers. The delegates seem to have none; nor the Russians themselves.

The men say that they went on a "truth-gathering tour." There is no reason to suppose that this and the many similar pamphlets one sees contain anything but the truth, but is it the *whole* truth ? Are there no slums, no bad working conditions, no dissatisfied grumblers, no lazy incompetents, no sincere but determined dissenters ? One knows there must be, and it is because they are never included that one feels the picture is so partial as to be false.

T.R.D.

* * *

Upanishads in Story and Dialogue, by R. R. Diwakar (Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 4-12).

Seven Noble Lives, by Nagendranath Gupta (Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 5).

Parade

I cannot love the deeds of men
Unless begat of love.
I cannot cheer and shout "hurrah!"
On seeing the strutting Gods of War,
When far away in tattered flight
There reels above the blood-red night
A small bewildered dove.

JON WYNNE-TYSON

The United Nations Association, although not a pacifist organisation, shares one thing in common with pacifists, a difficulty in securing publicity for news of its activities in the National Press. We believe readers will appreciate the following contribution from the Assistant Editor of the United Nations Association, Robert Greacen on—

TRYGVE LIE'S TEN POINTS FOR PEACE

MR. TRYGVE LIE, Secretary-General of the United Nations, is a man of great faith. He is attempting, in the name of the peoples of the world, to make peace secure. His optimism is justified by a ready willingness to face unpleasant facts.

At the beginning of the Memorandum which he recently presented personally to the U.S. President, Marshal Stalin and the Prime Ministers of Britain and France, he wrote:

> *As Secretary-General, it is my firm belief that a new and great effort must be attempted to end the so-called "cold war" and to set the world once more on a road that will offer greater hope of lasting peace.*
>
> *The atmosphere of deepening international mistrust can be dissipated and the threat of the universal disaster of another war averted by employing to the full the resources for conciliation and constructive peace-building present in the United Nations Charter.*

Since the 1945 United Nations San Francisco Conference there have been many disappointments in the search for an enduring peace. Great Power rivalries and tensions have handicapped and retarded UN, not only in the political field, but, as an indirect consequence, in its social, economic and humanitarian work. We are only too familiar with the milestones in this growing division of the world into two armed camps—the Berlin blockade, the Soviet walk-outs from UN over Chinese representation, and now war in Korea.

Everywhere: the desire for peace

Summing up his visits to the capitals of the four Great Powers Mr. Lie said he found everywhere the desire for peace.

Of the leaders he remarked—"they know that a new war means catastrophe. . . . No doors have been closed."

One of the most hopeful features of his tour has surely been the public interest it aroused. Letters, telegrams and personal good wishes poured in from people of every class and occupation. Peace News last week printed the full text of Trygve Lie's reply to these messages of goodwill, rightly pointing out that his letter "was ignored by the popular National Press."

What then are Mr. Lie's concrete proposals that have aroused so much interest?

His first Point deals with periodic meetings of the Security Council, to be attended by Foreign Ministers, or heads or other leading members of governments. He proposes that these meetings, provided for in Article 28 of the Charter, but never held, should be held twice yearly, beginning with a meeting this year. Such a meeting would review outstanding UN issues on the highest level, particularly those dividing the Great Powers. Much of the consultation should be in private, Mr. Lie suggests, and the meetings should take place not at Lake Success but in Geneva, Great Power capitals or other centres.

His second Point is centred on the attempt to achieve effective international control of atomic energy. Negotiation must be resumed. Whether the cynics smile or not, no chance, however slight, must be lost of turning a great scientific achievement to constructive and not destructive ends. Such possibilities include a UN-convened conference of scientists to provide new ideas that could be explored by the Atomic Energy Commission, and an interim agreement which might be better than an unlimited atomic arms race.

This leads to Point three, which outlines a new approach to the problem of ending the race in non-atomic armaments.

The fourth Point, which urges the making available of armed forces for the Security Council, will not be endorsed by PPU members; but even the most resolute opponent of the use of arms will agree that the creation of a supra-national force is an advance on unscrupulous, nationalistic power-politics.

Mr. Lie, in the fifth Point, urges that the fourteen nations now wishing to become UN members should be admitted; and further that Germany and Japan should be allowed to join as soon as peace treaties have been completed.

Helping those we hindered

The sixth Point is perhaps one of the most far-reaching—the programme of technical assistance to enable the peoples of under-developed countries to raise their standard of living. Mr. Lie envisages the expansion of this programme for the next twenty years at least. Here then is democracy's real answer to the challenge of Communism. We cannot be truly free in any country while millions of our fellow-beings are condemned to poverty and ignorance. The reflection is not on such peoples themselves, but on the "advanced" Western civilisation which tolerates indescribable misery and disease in Africa and elsewhere.

Points seven and eight deal respectively with the vigorous use and expansion where necessary of UN Specialised Agencies (International Refugee Organisation, Food and Agricultural Organisation, UNESCO, etc.), and the furthering of political economic and social rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The ninth Point, concerned with the peaceful advancement of "colonial" peoples, is closely linked with Point 6, being in fact its corollary. Finally, the tenth Point urges that all the powers of the Charter and all UN machinery should be used to speed up the development of a system of enforceable world law.

These, in brief, are Trygve Lie's Ten Points in his twenty-year peace programme. The majority of them will doubtless be strongly supported by pacifists; and it is their duty, concerned with peace and justice as they are, to help in making this blueprint for peace widely-known and accepted. Peace is constantly in danger; and all of us must work to safeguard it—before it is too late.

"It might have been a Gestapo trap"

A PACIFIST GAVE THIS MESSAGE TO GERMAN SOLDIERS IN 1941

THE war-time experiences of a German Quaker and pacifist who lived in Germany under the Hitler regime are told in a pamphlet recently published in Britain by the Home Service Committee of the Society of Friends (Christ in Catstrophe, 1s.).

Something of the earlier life of the author, Prof. Emil Fuchs, is told in the foreword to the American edition published last year.

He was born in the town of Beerfelden, Germany, in 1874. He was a minister in several places until 1918 and from then until 1931 in the industrial centre of Eisenach. After 1921 he worked closely with the Social Democratic Party and with a group known as the Religious Socialists, and travelled much around Germany. He became a Quaker in 1925, and in 1931 professor of religious science at the teachers' college at Kiel.

A period of great suffering followed. He was dismissed from Kiel when the Nazi Party came to power, (the President of the Academy said to him, "Please be silent. Do not give public lectures any more. Then perhaps we can save you."), and shortly afterwards imprisoned.

After he was released he was under the constant watch of the Gestapo; but until 1936 he was able, together with his sons (one of whom, Klaus, is at present in a British prison because he revealed atomic secrets), to assist the escape of refugees by operating a car hire business. The vehicles were confiscated in 1936.

His sons fled Germany. His daughter, a sensitive painter who had given herself to political work, helped her husband escape, but she did not know where he was or how she and her infant son could join him, and she began to suffer recurrent disturbance of mind. Finally she threw herself from a moving train to her death.

Today, after a year of teaching at a Quaker Centre in the USA, he is at Leipzig University, in the Russian Zone, working as professor of ethics and religion.

THE winter of 1941 was very cold. Hitler was at the height of his power; France was conquered, victorious German armies were fighting in Russia.

Two young men came to me. They had sometimes attended our (Quaker) meetings for worship. More I did not know of them. They asked me whether I could come with them.

They brought me to the large dining room of a private house where a score or more of young people were assembled, some officers, some soldiers, some civilians, some women, too.

One of them said. "All of us have been enthusiastic followers of Hitler. We volunteered for the army. Now we have just had leave and we have to return to our different places in the army. This is our last meeting together, and we do not know whether we shall see each other again. But during these days at home we have all realised that we no longer have faith in Hitler. We see that his whole propaganda is a lying and deceiving device to hold him and his party in power. And now we have no hope. Can you say anything to us that will give us hope ?"

Deceived by propaganda

It could have been a trap of the secret police, but it was necessary to speak.

They had been roused by clever passionate propaganda to a blind fanaticism for which the "nation" was the last ideal, the only value in the world worth dying for. They had been taught, and they had accepted, that it was right to lie for the nation, to deceive, to trick, to kill. Then, slowly and terribly, the suspicion had risen that this last ideal might itself be an untruth, a means of deceit—a lie fostered to support the power and egotism of men who lived in might and splendour when others went out to die.

Helpless and empty these young people were going out to fight, perhaps die. What could I tell them ?

"For outward greatness and happiness, I cannot give you any hope or faith," I began. "We are rushing to a catastrophe for our nation greater than we can imagine."

The refugees message

Then I told them of a letter from a refugee, who wrote out of very hard experiences, "We had not thought that our way would be so hard. But if we had to choose again, we would choose the same way."

"What a difference," I said. "Hitler and your cause in splendid success and you lose faith and hope. And here a refugee in distress writing 'We would choose the same way again.' For this man and his conscience the nation is not the highest measure. He knows about man, and the value of a man. He knows of a world of truth and justice which is higher than man, and which a man can realise in his work, and, by his work, in mankind. He obeyed a call. So in his distress, he has hope and faith.

"In your very despair, this call is here for you today. You will have to go through more hard experiences. If you come back from the war you will find a broken down country: like you, full of hopelessness and misery. Then the question will be whether there is a higher strength in your life. Do you belong to those who in their egotism lament their misery and poverty and seek to find a way out only for themselves. Or do you belong to those who seek to find a way out for others, who see that outward power and armies are unnecessary to great things ? If you do, you will have a great work to do, and your life will have strength and meaning.

"It may be that some will not come back. That some have to die in war. If they have only despair and hopelessness, their life is lost in a lost cause. But if they are able to hear the message of hope, and give it to a single friend in his despair, then life is in them and works on after them, a part of that eternal life which can never be extinguished.

"In Jesus the faith in success to which millions succumb is challenged. This world which seeks salvation and life in selfishness, in cleverness, in power and money, splendour and pride—this world is challenged.

"'The meek shall inherit the earth.'"

Pacifist Portraits No. 9

JOHN BARCLAY, like Max Plowman, was converted to pacifism by his experiences in the first World war. Born in September 1897, he was just of an age to be swept into it without having time to take his bearings in life. Paaschendaele was his initiation, as a subaltern, into the ways of the great world. In July 1918 he was gassed and "shell-shocked," and shortly after "retired" from the army as a captain, with an invalid pension. That was, however, replaced by a training in market-gardening. By 1920 John was a Socialist, a Pacifist and a tomato-grower. However, the tomatoes ceased to be a life-work in 1923: the Socialism and Pacifism did not.

At this crucial moment December 1924 he married Irene Martin, who in that same year had become the first woman chartered surveyor. That was lucky for John. To have a wife who not merely loves you but believes in you is the most important thing in life: it is also desirable, when you are a man like John, who cannot rest till he has found his mission in life, to have a wife who is master of a skilled profession. John went through some tough times; they would have been far tougher but for Irene Barclay. They have two sons, Michael and Antony who have come by the process of their own independent minds to "the faith called pacifism."

In 1936 he saw the star he had been waiting for. He jumped in at the very beginning of Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge movement and offered his full-time services—without waiting to discover whether he would or could be paid. The next ten years of his life were spent in the service of the PPU—service that was continued, just as loyally and unstintingly, during a painful and unnatural period of eight months in 1942-3 during which, to the general bewilderment, he ceased to be an official of the organisation.

It was no use pretending that John's long service with the PPU was a period of unbroken happiness. His spirit belonged essentially to the period of the first fine careless rapture, before the PPU took to the refinements of a democratic constitution. To give of his best John needed to be trusted. Dick Sheppard and Max Plowman trusted him completely: and the result was that John performed prodigies of inspiration, improvisation and organisation. The original flexible group organisation of the PPU was almost entirely his work. He was here, there and everywhere; he probably knew more individual members of the movement than the rest of Headquarters put together. And he made friends of them. If, as Max Plowman said, "Pacifism is friendship," John was its complete evangelist.

Once during a rather sticky propaganda meeting, a heckler grumbled that "it was all very well for you on the platform . . ." John straightway took a flying leap over the barricade of platform decorations and landed laughing by the heckler's side, to continue the argument. Whether the heckler was won over, this deponent knoweth not, but the audience certainly was.

Naturally, he was the life and soul of a summer school. His gifts as a sheer entertainer and high-spirited comedian were admired and envied by speakers less fortunately endowed. Some whispered jealously that he did not put up a case but put on a turn. They missed the point of John, which was that he had to give the whole of himself in total dedication.

JOHN BARCLAY

For many years the PPU was literally his life. And when he felt that things were going wrong, his distress was as entire as his happiness when they were going well.

His conception of pacifism was simple and profound: religious in the sense that pacifism, for him, was based on an individual decision. You saw the light, and henceforth you were a member of a great group of friends. The personal must always have the priority over the impersonal. Whatever was done in the spirit of genuine friendship was pacifism; and whatever was not, was not. Naturally, he suffered some bitter disappointments. But his satisfactions were enduring.

IN 1946 he left the PPU and joined the Reception Committee for the young people from occupied countries. One felt that he had found his line: in a work of pure humanity, untroubled by political vexations, in which everything depended on the personal touch. So, when the Reception Committee ceased to function in August 1947, within a week or two, one was not surprised to hear that, in partnership with Miss Margaret McEwen, he had founded a new organisation, International Help for Children. They started from scratch, with nothing but their faith and devotion. IHC has gone from strength to strength, and its recent achievement in bringing a number of maimed and undernourished children from Greece for recuperation here has aroused the attention and sympathy of the great public.

John Barclay is now in his element. His beneficent success in a work which demands the unhampered exercise of all his rare human qualities is a delight to his friends, who have sometimes grieved in the past to see hime cribbed, cabined and confined.

Should Army chiefs be paid by results?

THE fun and games of the House of Commons have very often a serious basis. Mr. Emrys Hughes illustrated this on June 20 during the Finance Bill discussions. We quote from the records some of the speeches of point.

Mr. Hughes: I always listen with an open mind to speeches from ex-Service personnel on the other side of the Committee, always realising that they represent what is the most powerful trade union in the House.

Mr. Boothby: The Intelligensia!

Brig. Clarke: Will the hon. Member admit that the Army, Navy and Air Force have no trade union and we are the only people who can speak for them ?

Mr. Hughes: All I can say is that if they have no official trade union they have a very efficient substitute for it in this house. Indeed, the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Brig. Clarke) nearly made me take out a collection for the brigadiers on the last occasion he addressed this house . . .

Brig. Clarke: What stopped you ?

Miners first

As the plight of poor officers was ventilated on the floor, and extra money asked for them, Mr. Emrys Hughes countered with details of other cases.

Mr. Hughes: If the hon. member would care to come to my constituency I can show him miners living three in a room who have to share their beds, some on the night shift, some on the day.

I can put up quite as good a case for lodging allowances for miners as the hon. Gentleman opposite can put up for officers. Given the whole picture, I do not think that it can be argued that we are entitled to give Army officers special treatment in the way of allowances.

I can reasonably argue that generals should be paid by results, when these figures (pay and allowance figures quoted earlier) might not look so unreasonable.

I ask the Chancellor not to yield to the demands of those in this house who speak for a small, privileged section of the community.

Earl Winterton: (interruption) . . . when we have to listen to a man who was out to destroy this country during the war . . .

Mr Hughes: Point of order. The noble Lord said that I tried to destroy this country.

Earl Winterton: Yes, by your speeches.

Mr. Hughes: Entirely untrue.

Earl Winterton: Throughout the last war the hon. Gentleman did all he could to impede the progress of the war effort of this country by speeches in the House.

Mr Hughes: I was not in this house during the last war.

SENSE FOR CENSORS

THE British Board of Film Censors made The Observer's "Sayings of the Week" recently with their statement that they wish to see brutality reduced to a minimum in gangster films. This is most commendable. But it does seem a bit odd that just at this moment censors should start fussing about isolated fights and shootings, when our screens are flooded with pictures glorifying mass fighting, universal shooting.

Some of the new recruiting dramas (no titles, no advertisement !) have quite a dramatic bite, while many are inept; but all carry the message that war-is-a-jolly-good-show-sir. Some of them skilfully introduce a realistic touch or two; but others are like the recent British effort which dragged a regiment through the span of the war years without showing a single corpse—and perhaps the final touch of bloodymindedness is to leave out the blood ?

Not only are the Army, Navy and Airforce gilded; but at this moment in England they are making a film to show how cleverly the English train their spies. And this after the indignation over the Fuchs case !

Now we have rightly been urged to protest against hatred propaganda on the radio; but I think the film-drama recruiting drive also deserves our attention. I propose that we should write to The British Board of Film Censors (113-117 Wardour Street) and protest, demanding that the censor's concern about individual violence should be extended to mass violence.

Let us remind the authorities, too, that we think it pretty galling that precious dollars should be spent for American recruiting propaganda, when the Americans themselves are so "nice" in other matters. For you may not know it, but at the Ealing Studios they produce velvet-gloved versions of their films for the market in the States.

Yes, in one Ealing film, a man arrived at a friend's house on a stormy night. The friend was out, but the caller was soaked to the skin and bone. The lady of the house, therefore, offered to dry the visitor's clothes by the kitchen fire. Meanwhile she offered him a change from her husband's wardrobe.

For the English market, the executives thought it fair enough to cut to a shot of the visitor sitting in the kitchen in his borrowed clothes. For the States, a special shot had to be inserted showing the visitor changing in the bedroom and making it quite clear that he never changed his underpants. (Pneumonia, of course, is a strictly irrelevant consideration here). It seems that the great American public would be shocked to *imagine* that the caller had removed his underpants while he was alone in a house with his friend's wife !

Great film industry ! Has no adult troubled to explain to the American censors the sexual aspects of war, sadism and hatred?

It's all unbelievable but true. Only should it be true that the censors are allowed to get away with their Alice-in-Unwonderous-land mentality?

OSWELL BLAKESTON

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

PLATFORM POINTS

NOTHIING NEW UNDER THE SUN

SO the 20th century super-weapons only provide a new means of expression for old ideas and emotions.

We aspire to the Good Life by the grace of the Atom and Hydrogen Bomb; we cling to our ancient belief in peace through war.

We apply against a former ally the encirclement policy that brought disaster in 1914 and 1938.

From The Manchester Guardian of June 6 we larn that even Senator Taft sees in U.S. policy a cordon sanitaire that could be considered by the Russians an aggressive act. Nevertheless, Mr. John Rankin (Democrat, Mississippi) considers that it would be highly desirable for America that the United Nations should be dissolved, since it is trying to set itself up as a super-government and interfere in U.S. internal affairs. De we need a new Dark Age before we recognise the need men saw 900 years ago for some international law to override national self-interest ?

Meanwhile we outdo the Middle Ages and send out schoolboys to the battle, not merely as pages, but to capture feudal fortreses as knights of old . . . So young Bill, of the Berkshire Cadet Force, thinks having participated in a successful attack on Norris Castle, Isle of Wight, war "sawright." And a new generation is prepared for the slaughter.

GOD INSTEAD OF RUM

PACIFISTS who find the inspiration for their belief in the life and teaching of Jesus feel ashamed of the Christian Church when its leaders bless battleships, equivocate about atomic bombing and support war-making policies. The more cynical among us merely mutter something about the fourth century and the prostitution of Church to State. All of us, though, will be horrified at the report that British Commandos are being trained to use their spiritual resources in order to kill more effectively.

At a former monastery near Cyrene, Cyrenaica, in North Africa, the British Army is carrying out this mockery of religion. Tough physical exercises are combined with religious acts to spur the soldiers in battle to fanaticism.

Canon F. L. Hughes, Chaplain General to the Forces, said, "What we are teaching there is that a man can go to uttermost extremes of physical effort if he allows God to help him."

A padre-instructor said, "We teach the men that when they think they are exhausted they can get from God that little bit extra needed to carry them over the top."

One of the students said: "It isn't mush. They mean business, and discipline is strict At night you feel you could lie down and die, but the religious atmosphere gives you great uplift."

The War Office is deciding whether to introduce this Commando Crusade into the home training curricula.

—*Daily Mail, June 12*

BOMBS AND BOMBAST

An explorer recently discovered two primitive tribes of Brazilian natives. He reported (Daily Telegraph, June 13) that they had one thing in common with white men: "One of their major worries is that their military secrets will be revealed; when a stranger approaches they hide their bows and arrows."

Just at the moment, the nations, rather than hiding their armament, are doing their best to brandish them with warlike shouts. In the last few days many reports have been published about new weapons. We have learned that small atomic bombs, atomic warheads on guided missiles, and atomic explosives to be fired by artillery pieces are all probabilities. We have been told that tanks can be obliterated in three easy ways: with armour - piercing projectiles which can be fired by one or two men, shells that spread their charge over the surface of the tank before it explodes, and with mines in the very latest of plastic coats.

The Russians have large armies, many tanks, and a big submarine fleet. The East German People's Police, the marching young Communist blue-shirts and the Moscow May Day parade of military strength all emphasised how well prepared is Russia to back up the "peace" campaigns of local Communists.

We are engaged in the greatest, maddest armament race of all time to which there can only be one end. Either we try to pursue peace without machine guns, or we can start setting the type for the next chapter in history books: "The 21st Century — Dominance of the East: Since Western civilisation destroyed itself . . ."

JOHN WELLINGTON

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Implications of Pacifism

THERE was a delightful story in Peace News some time during the War well worth remembering.

Somewhere out in America a "conchy" motor driver was late getting back to camp with his lorry. In order to hurry home he went through the neighbouring town at a speed higher than that permitted by law. Fortunately no one got injured, but it fell to the duty of a very kindly and tactful police sergeant to search out the offender and administer the necessary admonition. And the words that he used surely deserve inscribing in letters of gold, "Son, they're just as dead whether you hit them with a truck or shoot them with a gun."

Pacifists go all out against war; they believe in the sanctity of life.

But belief in the sanctity of life carries implications at the driving wheel of a motor vehicle and a thousand places elsewhere.

Children dying of rickets in slums, or from slow starvation resulting from their father's low wages or unemployment, the whole question of bodily, mental and spiritual impoverishment, deriving from neglectful vicious social conditions, thrusts pointedly at us the question: "Son, Daughter, your fellow men can be just as dead from a greedy and corrupt social system as they can be through the blast of a bomb on a crowded city."

Between the two world wars we had on an average a standing army of nearly two million unemployed. Writing in the Children's Newspaper, a strictly non-party newspaper, the Vicar of Whitton Park, Durham told how 96 per cent. of the men were on the dole or parish relief. He states:

> "*All mines and factories are closed. Our men, sober and law-abiding, have been out of work for many years . . . It is a dreadful fact that in a large number of cases their spirit is broken, their initiative gone, their nerves shattered by idleness. They go about haggard, care worn and almost hopeless. Their children are in many cases semi-starved. Delicate mothers deny themselves and are habitually undernourished, ill clad, and badly housed . . . I am entrusted with the care of their souls: Christianity demands that I should care for their bodies also.*"

One hopes that private charity responded well; but the closed mines and shipyards were the result of national and international follies: wars, war-debts, war reparations, gold standard finance, economic nationalism with its mad tariff barriers to hinder that useful trading which should have spread the good things God's world provided from the places of rotting abundance to areas where humanity was in dire and distressing need. National action on the lines of wisdom was direly needed to remedy the effects of national folly and international folly.

The Vicar of Whitton Park was not alone in his protest. Twenty-three Ministers—Anglican, Catholic and Non-conformist wrote to the Manchester Guardian (Jan. 28, 1935) protesting against the ruthless break up of homes and cruel poverty enforced by the Unemployment Assistance Board in the South Wales district of Merthyr and Dowlais.

Yet in these same distressed areas men were employed to take barrows filled with various kinds of food supplies from City stores to a destructor to be burned "because it was cheaper to burn them than to sell at lower prices" Peace News, 1938, states: "Each man destroyed approximately £750 worth of goods, in a week and received £1 17s. 6d.

More than £93,000,000 in food stuffs were destroyed during two years (Peace News, 1938). Yet from the same League of Nations authority we read that during 1934, 2,500,000 people died of starvation and nearly 1,300,000 committed suicide because of economic distress. A medical man examining any of these for signs of life would have pronounced them equally as extinct as those rotting on the shores of Gallipoli, or the battlfields of Ypres.

Vigorously as we pacifists must criticise the foreign policy and militarist preparations of the present Labour Government I say we ought to recognise that in the field of home politics Clement Attlee and others have removed the more glaring and terrible contrasts of a Dives and Lazarus state of society.

Lastly, India: the relations between Britain and India under a Labour Government are so well known as to need no comment from my pen. And though my faith in pacifism is such that I believe that under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership violence would, in any case, have yielded ultimately to non-violence, I am thankful that my vote in 1945 was cast for Labour with all official Labours tremendous imperfections, and that it played its some ten millionth part in preventing nearly two centuries of British exploitation and oppression in India from extending itself over another decade or half decade in that country.

JOSEPH JACKSON

19 Coombe Gardens,
Ensbury Park,
Bournemouth.

Imagination in Wartime

MAY I call attention to a most important matter ? Judge Armstrong rightly names imagination as the thing most lacking today, and is also right in saying that, but for that lack, people could not bring themselves to use such terrible weapons as aerial bombs (Peace News, June 16).

But think back a little—civilians had to freeze their imaginations to stand up to those same bombs, because imagination would have pictured to them only too vividly what the next few minutes might hold, and that would have meant panic. Bomber crews, for their part, had equally to deaden their mental vision of what would happen to helpless civilians after they had dropped their bombs, or they would have been unable to do their "duty."

During six years of war this non-reaction hardened to the habit which is second nature, and we have thus a world which is calmly going about its daily work unable to picture the horrors ahead vividly enough to rebel against them. Sympathy and self-pity also had to be frozen for the same reasons.

We must awaken these slumbering reactions if our crusade is to succeed in its entirety.

NORAH SHONE

73 Edith Grove,
Chelsea.

Smearing Peace—a reply

IN the interests of truth, which is one of the conditions of Peace, I must comment on the letter headed "Smearing Peace," in your last issue.

Firstly, there has never been a "big RAF and Military display in Forest Row." A fete was arranged on Whit Monday to raise funds for a village playing field and pavilion. It was regretted by many in the village that the event was, to some extent, marred by the presence of RAF and Military units.

Those of us who have spent some years disseminating Pacifist literature know that a clumsy technique can easily offend perfectly decent people, and I feel it was inevitable that a stranger making a forthright protest at the Forest Row fete would offend and annoy some of the locals.

To suggest that the "Man in the street has come to regard Peace as something positively evil" is a mis-statement that disgraces our paper. Humanity has always tended to prefer the values of Sodom and Gomorrah to those of the Kingdom of God; but we shall do well if we ponder on the witness and life of St. Francis of Assisi and the whole company of the Saints, and humbly with them devote our lives to working for a constructive alternative to the seductive horrors of materialism.

ALAN MISTER

The Poplars, Hamsey Road,
Sharpthorne, East Grinstead.

PPU and BPC

I HAVE read with some uneasiness the manifesto in which the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union tries to make clear its attitude to the Communist Party and the British Peace Committee. It may achieve its object, but it leaves me a little more confused than before.

Except for the implication that pro-Russian sentiment is undesirable, the first three paragraphs are clear enough: the Union, by its constitution cannot be affiliated to any political party, it cannot even, as an organisation, co-operate with political bodies because of fundamental differences in principle, method and motive; it infers, probably quite correctly, that the British Peace Committee is so under the domination of a political party that it must itself be considered political.

Such a policy once adopted, however, must be scrupulously observed, but the manifesto, having declared political impartiality goes on to "discourage members of the PPU from signing the BPC petition" because it is sponsored by a particular political body, and "advises PPU members not to join such local peace councils when they are dominated by Communists." Finally the National Council presumes to ask officers and members of the staff of the Union not to take part in conferences and demonstrations arranged by the BPC.

Is the Council prepared to "discourage" members from signing petitions organised by *any* political body ? Will it advise members not to join *any* society dominated by Socialists, Liberals or Conservatives ? What will happen to members of the staff or officers who take part in forbidden gatherings ? Will they (like naughty civil servants) be purged ?

I wait with interest to see . . .

T. RENDALL DAVIES

1 Greenwood Gardens,
Palmers Green, London, N.13.

Co-operation—a reply

IF Wallace Hancock will read my remarks again he will see that at no point did I suggest, or imply, that pacifists should help Communists to promote Communism; on the contrary, I made it plain, (or so I thought !) that our purpose should be the same as that of Jesus when he "consorted with publicans and sinners": to convert them; to show them that if British Communists sincerely desire to live at peace with Russia then they must accept the pacifist position and refuse to take part in war.

It is my belief that there is no such thing as a true analogy, but surely the flaw in mine is not that Jesus did not co-operate with sinners for their own purpose, but that we *too* are sinners ? That we are all to blame, in a smaller or larger degree, for the world situation today is my sincere belief; we cannot escape from our responsibility by contracting out.

To say that we should not co-operate with any non-pacifists is to say that we cannot even be affiliated to the No Conscription Council, or the National Peace Council, let alone Churches, or Political organisations such as Women's Guilds, Co-operative Societies or Trades Unions.

Are we to exist in a kind of sanctimonious vacuum, only coming out for a bit of heresy hunting ? When pacifists start using a phrase like "fifth columnist," coined by patriotic militarists to describe Fascists, then we begin to know how very very far away we are from that "will to agree" which we advocate as the way to peace between the USSR and the USA.

SYBIL MORRISON

Dick Sheppard House,
6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Into the future

HOW far-sighted we pacifists are. We are urged by the PPU manifesto to make certain of the motives and origins of local peace committees, in case they are only against war with Russia. Being human, this resistance to a particular war would be enough for me, and I do feel that there are signs of a leaning towards war with that country. But we are against all wars. I must remember Malaya, of course. We pacifists nearly made that an emergency issue at the AGM, Ye Gods, about two years after. Let us trust that the atomic bombs which the Communist-dominated petition hopes to ban, give us time to act, and to look for those others with whom there is a more fundamental agreement about constructive peace making.

For myself I shall continue to press for the abolition of the atomic bomb, knowing that some who sign the petition will sign because its easier than saying no, and to those who say that it does not go far enough, I say "That's right, Comrade, we must ban war, would you be interested in the PPU ?

SIDNEY BILLSON

33 Compton Road,
London, N.1.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

Summer School, George College, Menai Straits, North Wales

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

	Lecturer	Subject
Sunday, July 30	Dr. Malcolm Mitchell	"The Future of Africa"
Monday, „ 31	W. A. Gething	"The Need for an International Language"
Tuesday, August 1	George Padmore	"Is Imperialism Dead ?"
Wednesday, „ 2	Leah Manning	"The Problems of Youth"
Thursday, „ 3	Free day	
Friday, „ 4	R. S. W. Pollard	"Our Marriage System"
Sunday, „ 6	Lady Parmoor	"Security in the Atomic Age"
Monday, „ 7	Bob Edwards	"Economic Democracy in Industry"
Tuesday, „ 8	Will Ballantine	"Yugo-Slavia"
Wednesday, „ 9	Stuart Morris	"Pacifism and Socialism"
Thursday, „ 10	Free day	
Friday, „ 11	David Gibson	"The I.L.P. and the Future"

In addition to the above excellent programme of lecturers, there will be facilities for indoor and outdoor recreation, excursions to Snowdonia and Anglesey. Terms £4 10s. per week inclusive (except special excursions). For accommodation, please write Frank Tabberer, 394 Gospel Lane, Acocks Green, Birmingham.

TO THE PRESS — *on peace*

Below appear extracts from statements sent to the press by a number of organisations

Fellowship of Reconciliation:

THE peculiar task of the Fellowship of Reconciliation lies within the Church. It is to call the Church to be itself that it may, in the words of the Amsterdam report, cease to "appear impotent to deal with the realities of the human situation" because it "has failed to speak effectively on the subject of war."

The "Realities of the human situation," however, involve national policies. The Fellowship must, therefore, give sincere and responsible consideration to any invitation to co-operate with others who may be seeking to challenge the evils in that situation and especially in so far as they affect the peace of the world.

After such consideration of the methods and motives of the British Peace Committee the FoR finds itself unable to co-operate for the following reasons:

(1) That it is impossible to ignore the inspiration and influence of the Communist element in the BPC; and that the methods advocated, or at least not repudiated by that Communist element, are not consistent with the establishment of a world order based on love.

(2) That the BPC is not, in fact, prepared to oppose all forms of intolerance, violence, tyranny and materialism wherever they are found.

(3) That a number of the sponsors of the BPC openly aver that they are not pacifist and would be prepared to take the way of violence, indeed to advocate it, in support of certain political ends.

While we recognise their sincerity and that they regard these ends as ultimately resulting in the peace of the world, we are bound to say that this is not peacemaking as we understand it.

—Letter to the Times (July 1) from the FoR. This letter is based on the minutes of a General Committee meeting called during June to consider the BPC.

AFRICAN PROTECTORATES

The following is the text of a resolution of the General Committee of the FoR made on June 28.

The Committee notes with approval the repeated asurances of the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations that HM Government will continue to abide by its pledges to native peoples in Africa under British protection, and not to withdraw from its responsibilities without first consulting the native peoples concerned.

The Committee is, however, deeply concerned that HM Government has not publicly declared that it will not relinquish its responsibilities to its African protectorates until the natives' consent is obtained.

Doctrines of racial supremacy strike at the whole conception of Christian order. The goodwill that exists to this country on the part of native peoples of Africa testifies to the absence of such doctrines in present British policies. Such a declaration as we now urge upon HM Government would enlarge that goodwill and strengthen the moral leadership which our nation, more than any other, is so well placed to give.

Crusade for World Government:

The Crusade for World Government, discussing the Korean situation, has made the following statement: The CWG believes that there is a more useful purpose to be served than discussing the much disputed legality of the action taken in Korea.

That purpose is to point out that there is no way in which UN can assume control over an overwhelmingly effective world force capable of settling disputes.

Therefore, the CWG urges all citizens to support it in calling for the reform of UN in such a way as to make it an effective world government.

It also suggests that HM Government should, in conjuction with other governments that are agreeable, seek to convene a World Constituent Asembly for the purpose of drafting a Constitution for a federal world state.

London Peace Council:

An All-London Campaign for peace has been launched by the newly-formed London Peace Council. Full, active participation is asked of every worker available for the following dates:

JULY 10 & 11: Evening poster parades, mass collection of signatures for World Peace Petition at Central London points.

JULY 12: Women's Peace Day organised by International Women's Day Committee.

JULY 16: Peace Sunday. A call to all churches will be made.

JULY 23: British Peace Committee's Trafalgar Square demonstration.

AUGUST 6: Commemoration of Hiroshima by the War Resisters' International. Trafalgar Square demonstration organised by the Peace Pledge Union.

The Executive Committee recently adopted a resolution declaring that it is in the interests of the peoples of the world and of international peace that the present conflict in Korea should be settled by peaceful negotiation.

"It therefore calls on the Government to request that there be immediately convened a full meeting of the Security Council as constituted according to the provisions of the United Nations Charter, i.e., including the representatives of the Soviet Union and the People's Government of China—in order that a peaceful settlement may be effected."

A deputation was appointed to present this resolution to the Prime Minister at No. 10 Downing Street.

(The London Peace Council was set up by a Peace Conference held at the St. Martin's School of Art, Charing Cross Road, W.C.2, on May 20 last. Its purposes are to enroll in the service of Peace, London men and women of every political association and creed, and to co-ordinate and stimulate the activities for Peace of Peace Organiastions and other bodies. Its headquarters are at 10-11 Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.4. It is working in close co-operation with the British Peace Committee—Ed. PN).

British Peace Committee:

The prevention of atomic war and securing of real peace will be the theme of a two day conference (July 22-23) arranged by the British Peace Committee in Holborn Hall.

The Dean of Canturbury will speak on the evening of the conference's first day.

By the end of this month, the British Peace Committee claims, over two million signatures will have been collected for the peace petition. The petition's two points are:

1. The prohibition of all atomic weapons with international control and inspection.
2. A declaration that the first government that will use atomic weapons shall be branded as a war criminal.

Dulwich PPU:

We believe that the military intervention by Britain and her allied countries is likely to precipitate a catastrophe and urge therefore H.M. Government to immediately withdraw all armed forces from the site of conflict.

—Statement issued by Dulwich PPU Group.

North-East ILP:

The North-East Divisional Council of the ILP has issued the following demand:

Britain must be kept out of war at all costs. We condemn as downright dangerous and suicidal the proposals of HM Labour Government to take sides in any imperialist, disgraceful military interference in the affairs of Korea. We wish the Koreans to have independence.

We should not line up with either America or Rusisa.

Our only hope of safety in case of war, and atomic war, breaks out, is to make an immediate declaration of neutrality.

Up and doing!

THEY WANT THE TRUTH

Another important national organisation, with affiliations all over the world, has declared its support for the Peace News Campaign.

Crusade for World Government, in a letter to its branches says, ". . . the National Executive Committee feel it right to draw your attention to Peace News, which . . . makes a very valuable survey of opinion and contains important articles from which a great deal can be learned . . .

"It is therefore suggested that you pass on this information to as many Crusaders as possible with a view to increasing the circulation of Peace News."

Peace News workers are asked to follow this up by personal contact with all known World Government supporters.

Mrs. O., a Kent pacifist and World Government supporter, has already approached many of her Labour Party colleagues, Women's International League members and others to buy PN from her each week.

"It's the only paper that is always truthful and objective," says Mrs. O.—and in her first week's efforts six regular readers were gained. This week she hopes to total a dozen orders, and in a few weeks time will transfer them to local newsagents, who will be asked to put extra copies on show.

Good work, Mrs. O.! You're doing a vital job in these critical days.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week, 10,500

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, July 7

EALING: 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 49 Uxbridge Road; Acton and Ealing Group PPU resume fortnightly meetings; Secretary: Mrs. Joyce Balnaves, 7 Allison Road, Acton, W.3; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 6.45 p.m. Kingsway Hall: Dr. Emmanuel Tuckman on "The New China": International Voluntary Service for Peace.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens: Policy, including discussion on Manifesto re PPU and the Communist Party; Central London PPU.

Saturday, July 8

BIRMINGHAM: 3-9.30 p.m. Fircroft College, Bourneville (outer circle bus to Bourneville Green, one minute walk up Woodbrooke Road). Annual Garden Party. Speaker: Vera Brittain. West Midlands Area PPU.

DONCASTER: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, West Laithe Gate (a few yards west of Railway Station). Quarterly Area Meeting. Pooled Tea. PPU Area Secretary: K. Chadwick, 32 Spencer Place, Leeds 7.

LONDON, N.W.1: 2.30 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road: Day School on "The Challenge of the International Situation to the Labour Party": First session: Basil Davidson on "The Basis of a New Foreign Policy": Tea, 4.30; Second Session, 5 p.m.: Mary Saran on "International Socialist Co-operation since the War": Chairman: Reg Sorensen, MP; Charge per delegate or visitor 2s. 6d. including tea; Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

Sunday, July 9

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; North London Region, PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street, Open-air meeting; PPU.

Monday, July 10

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Speakers: Jack Sutherland and Gwyneth Anderson; PPU.

LONDON ,N.4: 8 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd.; Meeting of North London pacifists to plan action against the drift to war; PPU.

Thursday, July 13

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Friends House, Heath St.; Gwyneth Anderson on "The Power of Non-Violence, and Peace Units"; Secretary: J .Wynne-Tyson, 17a Pond St., N.W.3. HAM 0174; PPU.

LONDON, W.5: 8 p.m. Queens Hall, Town Hall, Ealing; Discussion on "Atomic Deadlock, can we break it?" led by County Councillor R. Gundry (PPU); Ealing UNA.

Friday, July 14

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.15 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens, for stroll over Hampstead Heath, and supper with Marie Sturge-Moore; Central London PPU.

Saturday, July 15

HAYDON BRIDGE: Garden Party by invitation of the Rev. L. G. and Mrs. Buckingham at Halloshoon, Haydon Bridge (Nr. Hexham). Tea served. Public meeting in the evening: Dr. E. L. Allen and Michael Day, MA, on "Christ and Peace."

COVENTRY: 3-5 p.m. and 5.30- 7 p.m. Baptist Church Hall, Queens Rd.; Peace Conference; Speaker: Dr. D. Arnott, Atomic Research Scientist; Chairman: Mr. L. W. Chinn, MA; Tea obtainable in YWCA adjoining. Enquiries to W. H. Slade, 141 Longfellow Rd., Coventry; Coventry Peace Council.

LUTTERWORTH: 3 p.m. Congregational Church Annual Conference. John W. Burton on "The Healing of the Nations." Chairman: Denis J. Ryley, BSc. FoR.

OXFORD: 5.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 43 St. Giles. Speaker: Lewis Maclachlan, MA. FoR.

SHEFFIELD: 3.0 p.m. Longshaw Lodge; One-Day School "Non-Violence": Enquiries to W. Eason, 6a Summerfield, Sheffield 10.

Saturday, July 15 - Sunday, July 16

LONDON, S.W.5: International Weekend Conference on "The Main World Religions"; International People's College, 10 South Bolton Gardens, S.W.5.

Sunday, July 16

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting: North London Region, PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street, Open-air meeting. PPU.

Monday, July 17

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Speakers: Jack Sutherland and Gwyneth Anderson; PPU.

Tuesday, July 18

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Upper Lattimore Road; Rev. E. H. Robertson, MA, on "Germany"; FoR.

Wednesday, July 19

LONDON, S.E.5: 8 p.m .Cambridge House, 137 Camberwell Rd. (corner of Addington Square); The first of fortnightly "working party" meetings for general public action; writing letters to the Press, sending out Peace News, etc.; PPU.

Thursday, July 20

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Saturday, July 22

SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m. "Rydal," Snaithing Park Rd., Sheffield, 10; PPU Annual Garden Party.

Sunday, July 23

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting. PPU.

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting. North London Region, PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street, Open-air meeting. PPU.

Saturday, July 22-Sunday, July 23

LONDON, S.W.5: International Weekend Conference on "The Refugee and DP Problem": International People's College, 10 South Bolton Gardens, S.W.5.

Saturday, July 29 - Sat., Aug. 5

MALVERN LINK, Worcester: The School, Malvern Link: Youth holiday conference; Subject: "Crossing Frontiers"; Speakers will include: Dr. Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell (League of Coloured Peoples), The Rev. Claude Coltman, MA (Weigh House Church) and , Reginald Sorensen, MP (Leyton); FoR.

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KOREA : We must get at the facts

By STUART MORRIS, Gen. Sec. Peace Pledge Union

The underlying meaning of crisis is judgment, and we are faced with a crisis because we are witnessing in Korea a judgment upon an all too easy acquiescence in the wrong method of settling disputes and preserving peace, and because we are called upon to pass judgment on what is happening.

THE difficulty about making a judgment arises because of the difficulty of getting at the real truth.

It will be obvious that British newspapers are only giving the facts on one side, and however difficult it may be to get at the facts on the other side, at least we must recognise that there are such facts.

Enough has been said in the attempt to prove the aggressiveness of the North, but what about the South?

It is at least significant that the Evening Standard, in a recent leading article, said,

> "The government of North Korea is a satellite of Russia; that of South Korea a satellite of the United States. Without American aid amounting to £33 millions a year, the South Korean government, a regime whose inefficiency and repression smacks of the Chiang-Kai-shek regime, would have collapsed long ago."

Recalling the Reichstag Fire

An interesting comment on this is to be found in a dispatch from Seoul by Mr. Sullivan, the correspondent of the New York Times, dated March 14.

In this he states: "A move in the National Assembly to deprive President Rhee of much of his executive power fell through today with the defeat of a proposed amendment to the constitution. Nevertheless, the Government could only muster 33 votes against the amendment, while there were 79 votes in its favour; 66 members abstained and thus the required two-thirds majority was not obtained. Of the abstentions 13 members were in jail—found guilty of charges of violating the National Security Act and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from one and a half to ten years."

Mr. Sullivan likened the trial to that which followed the Reichstag fire.

He goes on to report: "proceedings followed on the following charges:

(1) petitioning the United Nations for the withdrawal of foreign troops, both Russian and American, including advisers;

(2) attempting to bring about the fall of the cabinet by exposing malfeasance on the part of its members;

(3) seeking out unnecessary items in the budget to fight the Budget Bill in the Assembly;

(4) opposing invasion of North Korea by South Korean forces;

(5) pressing for a revision of the constitution."

Counter-claims of aggression

Another incident is reported in Pravda concerning a photograph taken in South Korea by a correspondent of the Associated Press which shows Mr. Foster Dulles—adviser to the U.S. Secretary of State—examining a map lying on the parapet of a trench on the borders of North Korea.

It seems clear that the North can at least claim that prior to their most recent attack there had been incursions by each side into the territory of the other.

It must be remembered, however, that the causes of war always go much deeper down and further back than the particular occasion.

AMERICA'S ACTION EXAMINED

Another aspect which demands our consideration is the action which has now been taken by the United States, for it was the United States which reported the crisis in Korea to the Security Council and not the Southern Koreans, or even the United Nations Commission.

The subsequent action of the Security Council in imposing military and economic sanctions in the absence of Russia would appear to be in direct contradiction to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Article in question (Article 27, section 3) states clearly "Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters (that is on matters which are not merely procedural) shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, *including the concurring votes of the permanent members . . .*" Leaving on one side the question of the representation of China on the Security Council, there certainly was no concurring vote from Russia.

The purpose of the Veto

It is also as well to remember that the provision for the use of the veto was originally justified partly on the grounds that it was the only way of preventing such a situation as that which has now arisen.

Recognising that one of the gravest dangers of a world war would arise if the permanent members of the Security Council took different sides in a more local dispute, it was expressly provided that no action should be taken, except with the consent of all of them.

Again, the Charter provides in Articles 43, 44, 45, and 46 that once a decision to take action has been made members of the United Nations shall put their available resources at the disposal of the Security Council, and that it shall be the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee that shall determine the nature of the action and make the plans for the application of these sanctions.

American interests

In this case, all the plans seem to have been made by President Truman without any further reference to the Security Council.

The comment of the Egyptian Government in refusing to support the American resolution is significant, for in it they point out that there have been other acts of aggression brought to the notice of the Security Council in which no similar action was suggested.

The implication is obvious that in the other instances American interests were not regarded as being challenged to the extent that they are in Korea.

It would indeed seem that the American Government is prepared to break the letter and the spirit of the Charter in these two ways not for any particular love of the South Koreans, but because it is trying to use the cover of the United Nations to sanction action taken in its own interest. This is apart from the action taken in Formosa which cannot even pretend to be within the orbit of the Security Council resolution.

U.S. aggression against China?

But a few weeks ago, President Truman stated that the American Government would not send military aid to Formosa.

In their present action there they have laid themselves open to a charge of aggression against the Government of China which has been recognised by Great Britain and many other nations, and which under the recently concluded Mutual Aid Pact can call on the assistance of Russia in the event of aggression by Japan or any power associated with her.

President Truman starts by saying that action in Korea is to be confined to expelling the North Koreans from the South, but that there was no intention to act against the North as such, and that no military forces would be employed. Today American GIs are in action and American bombers are devastating Northern bases and towns, while a naval blockade has been imposed on the coast of all Korea.

Will Britain withdraw recognition of Peking?

We are also informed that under no circumstances will America now tolerate the substitution in the United Nations Assembly and Councils of the representative of the Formosa Government by the representative of the Peking Government.

Further we have been given to understand that at the earliest opportunity the British Government will make plain that it has gone back on its original intention to support the claims of the Peking Government to representation.

We are, therefore, faced with what is the virtual breakup of the United Nations, since no one can suppose that Russia will resume her seat until recognition is given to the claims of the Peking Government

HOW WILL FORCE SOLVE THE PROBLEM?

Moreover, we may well ask how the present situation can possibly solve the problems out of which it arose. When American might has smashed the power of North Korea, what then?

Is America going to impose its will on Korea? Is it going to be easier to unify the country and take steps towards the formation of a really democratic government which can guarantee freedom and a satisfactory standard of life for all Koreans?

The danger is that this enterprise will be regarded as a further justification for the assertion that Russia will only listen to the argument of force and violence.

It has been that argument expressed in the use of the big stick as the instrument of foreign policy and ever amounting expenditure upon armaments which has helped to create the very situation in which the events in Korea no longer represent a nation divided against itself, but a world divided into two opposing armed camps.

If the belief that peace can be imposed by force, even in a limited area, is allowed to go unchallenged, and if what may seem to be the temporary victory of superior force leads to an increased race in armaments, how can another world war be avoided?

Two practical suggestions

What then can be done? There would seem to be at least two practical steps which should be taken immediately.

The first is the recognition that the United Nations has failed in the very purpose for which it was created, and failed because it has attempted to build peace through a Charter based upon the maintenance of the independent sovereignty of the participating nations.

If the rule of law and the full circumstances of order essential to peace are to prevail only a world government can obtain and maintain them.

Now is the moment to insist that the Charter of the United Nations shall be so amended as to bring into being an effective world government, based upon the abolition of national armies and the setting up of the new process of international law and order.

Mediation, not violence, the solution

The second is to recognise that there can be no solution of the present crisis in terms of violence, but only in terms of mediation.

Although the Indian Government has acquiesced in the resolution passed by the Security Council, Pandit Nehru has stressed the importance of mediation in the present dispute. The other five non-permanent members of the Security Council, which include Egypt, are also anxious to attempt mediation.

It will indeed be well if the British Government would claim, even at this hour, that in view of the violation of the Charter it has no moral obligation to support military and economic action, and offer instead the mediation which alone can be a solution.

But at least every encouragement must be given to India and the other five non-permanent members to save the world from further disaster by the substititution for the method of increasing violence of the way of negotiation and mediation.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

Quarrels would not last long if the fault was only on one side.

—La Rochefoucauld

Oh, world! Oh, men! What are ye and
our best designs
That we must work by crime to punish
crime.

—Byron

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

—PPU Pledge

IN a situation laden with the menace of a third world war, pacifists are once again faced with angry questioners demanding to know: "What would **you** do?"

Would pacifists have let Belgium be invaded by the Kaiser's Prussian militarists without firing a shot? Would they have abandoned Poland and Europe to the jack-boots of Hitler without even a protest? Would they now let Russia annex Southern Korea and dominate the freedom loving people on the south side of the 38th parallel? Would they, in fact, just lie down before the cynical and brutal aggressors who are concerned only with their own ends and care nothing for the rest of the world?

The old phrases again

All the old Churchillian words and phrases are rolling out again; all the fears and fervours of nations at war are once more stirring the blood to either passionate bravado, or feverish patriotism. Aggression must be challenged, force must be met by force. It is being said, indeed, that the use of force now will save the peace of the world; this is the real cynicism, the bitter sarcasm of lunatics, not of sane men.

The only lesson that has been learned from the past, apparently, is the mistaken one, that might is synonymous with right. Why rail at Hitler and Stalin for building up great armed forces if this is the truth? It is not the truth; it is a deep-rooted lie in the very soul of the world, and it is for pacifists to dig it up and expose it for what it is— the protagonist of wars, the antithesis of peace.

It is plain that a quarrel cannot be entirely one-sided, and impossible that one participant in a conflict is all black and the other pure and unstained white. Britain was not innocent of the causes that led to the invasion of Belgium, nor of the policies and quarrels among the victors which gave rise to Hitlerism. The division of Korea, like the division of Germany, is the outcome of conflicting policies of rival powers, and none of these things has anything at all to do with peace.

How peace will be won

Yet it is common to demand from pacifists a solution to a war situation in which their creed is totally unacceptable to the combatants, or for that matter, as a rule, to the questioner. To renounce war is not the answer the questioners want to hear; they want to be told of some easy way out, some certain defence against war coming to their own country and assailing their own way of life.

There is no such easy answer; to dam up the stream, to turn back the flood, is not to be done by letting it sweep over you; it means unending labour, faith in the tools, belief in the ultimate result; it is not work for the weak-kneed cowards that pacifists are so often supposed to be. Peace will never be won by the methods of war, and it is necessary to make that answer time and time again. If we cannot persuade governments, deeply committed to their rival policies based on an ultimate trial of strength in arms, then the only course left to us is to refuse to take part in what we know to be completely evil and futile.

The pacifist is not without an answer; it is to seek the truth, and to renounce war.

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